

## Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, GE

SUBJECT: 13TH MEETING OF SED CENTRAL COMMITTEE

1. SUMMARY: IN A MAJOR ADDRESS BEFORE THE SED CENTRAL COMMITTEE, DECEMBER 12-14, 1974, FIRST SECRETARY HONECKER DEVOTED THE MAIN PORTION OF A LONG SPEECH TO THE ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS AND GOALS OF THE GDR. HE STRESSED PARTICULARLY THE NEED FOR GREATER EFFORTS AT ALL LEVELS IF THE GOALS OF THE CURRENT FIVE YEAR PLAN ARE TO BE REALIZED IN 1975 (SEE BERLIN 5070). HONECKER ALSO DEVOTED SOME ATTENTION TO THE SUBJECTS OF NATIONALITY AND CITIZENSHIP DURING WHICH HE DECLARED THAT EAST GERMANS BEAR GERMAN NATIONALITY AND ARE CITIZENS OF THE GDR. HONECKER EXPRESSED HOPE FOR SUCCESS IN THE CURRENT GDR/FRG NEGOTIATIONS AND FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO

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COUNTRIES OVER THE LONG TERM. END SUMMARY.

2. FIRST SECRETARY ERIC HONECKER DELIVERED THE MAJOR ADDRESS AT THE 13TH MEETING OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY (SED) CENTRAL COMMITTEE HELD FROM 12-14 DECEMBER 1974 IN EAST BERLIN. THE SPEECH ENCOMPASSED SOME 106 PAGES IN ITS PRINTED VERSION OF WHICH APPROXIMATELY EIGHT PAGES WERE DEVOTED TO MATTERS OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. (COPIES SENT TO WASHINGTON). THE REMAINDER OF THE SPEECH CONSISTED OF SEVERAL CHAPTERS DEALING WITH VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE GERMAN ECONOMY AND CONTAINED MANY EXHORTATIONS TO ACHIEVE THE GOALS OF THE FINAL YEAR OF THE CURRENT FIVE YEAR PLAN DUE TO END IN 1975. SINCE PUBLICATION OF THE SPEECH, HONECKER'S WORDS HAVE BEEN REFERRED TO AND REPEATED IN OTHER ADDRESSES BY OTHER MEMBERS OF THE

SED POLITBURO INCLUDING ALRED NORDEN AND CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE STOPH.

3. THE PORTION OF HONECKER'S SPEECH ON INTERNATIONAL MATTERS HAS ATTRACTED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST AMONG FOREIGN OBSERVERS OF THE EAST GERMAN SCENE. HIS PRONOUNCEMENTS ON NATIONALITY AND CITIZENSHIP PARTICULARLY HAVE BEEN POINTED TO AS THE CURRENT DEFINITIONS OF GDR VIEWS ON THESE SUBJECTS. WITH REGARD TO NATIONALITY, HONECKER STATED THAT THE GDR IS PEOPLED IN THE MAIN BY PERSONS OF GERMAN NATIONALITY. HE FOLLOWED THIS BY STATING THAT THE CREATION OF THE GDR WAS THE WORK OF MANY GENERATIONS AND THAT THE GDR AS WELL AS THE FRG DREW THEIR CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE FROM THE FACT THAT THEY ARE BOTH PART OF GERMANY. THE GDR, HONECKER STATED, IS A SOCIALIST GERMAN STATE WHILE THE FRG IS A BOURGEOIS STATE, EACH OF WHICH HAS GROWN UP INDEPENDENTLY SINCE 1945. HONECKER SAID THAT SINCE THERE ARE TWO GERMAN STATES, THERE ARE ALSO TWO GERMAN CITIZENSHIPS, ONE FOR THE GDR AND ONE FOR THE FRG.

4. THE OTHER SUBJECT WHICH HAS DRAWN SOME PRESS AND PUBLIC COMMENT IS THE HOPE EXPRESSED BY HONECKER FOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GDR AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. HONECKER CLAIMED THAT THE GDR IS IN THE FOREFRONT OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RELAXATION OF TENSIONS AND THE GROWTH OF SECURITY IN EUROPE. HE STATED THAT IN ATTEMPTING TO ACHIEVE A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE FRG, A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION COULD BE MADE TO THE HOPES FOR NEW EUROPEAN COOPERATION.

5. WITH REGARD TO GDR RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES HONECKER NOTED THAT DIPLOMATIC TIES EXIST BETWEEN THE GDR AND 113 OTHER COUNTRIES. HE PRAISED THE ADMISSION OF THE GDR INTO THE UNITED NATIONS, AND INTO INTERNATIONAL FORA LIKE THE CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT IN GENEVA AND THE NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTION IN VIENNA. HONECKER ALSO SAID THAT DESPITE THE BELIEF OVERSEAS THAT THE GDR IS A CLOSED STATE, ABOUT 6 TO 8 MILLION WEST GERMANS VISIT E. BERLIN AND THE GDR ON AN ANNUAL BASIS AND THAT IN THE NEARLY TWO YEARS FROM THE BEGINNING OF 1972 UNTIL END OF NOVEMBER 1973 APPROXIMATELY 5.6 MILLION CITIZENS OF THE GDR TRAVELED TO THE FRG AND WEST BERLIN. IN THIS CONNECTION HONECKER NOTED THAT EAST BERLIN IS OPEN TO ALL KINDS OF OUTSIDE INFLUENCES LIKE WESTERN RADIO AND TELEVISION WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALLOWED TO CONTINUE FREELY. HONECKER EMPHASIZED THAT THE GDR IS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE AND TO DEAL WITH COUNTRIES WITH DIFFERING SOCIAL STRUCTURES.

6. COMMENT: HONECKER'S SPEECH HAS OBVIOUSLY BECOME THE TOUCHSTONE FOR SEVERAL OF THE CURRENT SPEECHES OF THE GDR LEADERSHIP. ITS EMPHASIS ON ACHIEVING GOALS IN THE FINAL YEAR OF THE CURRENT FIVE YEAR PLAN IS REPEATED CONSTANTLY IN ALL E. BERLIN NEWSPAPERS AND IS SUPPLEMENTED BY INDIVIDUAL ORGANIZATIONS PLEDGING THEMSELVES TO FULFILLMENT AND OVER-FULFILLMENT OF THEIR WORK GOALS IN THE COMING YEAR.

HONECKER'S COMMENTS ON NATIONALITY AND CITIZENSHIP HAVE AGAIN STRESSED THE GDR THEORY OF "ABGRENZUNG" WHICH HAS BECOME A STANDARD FEATURE OF E. GERMAN VIEWS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ON THE POSSIBILITY OF GERMAN UNIFICATION. GIVEN THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT IN WHICH THE STATEMENT ON NATIONALITY WAS MADE, HOWEVER, IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE TO INTERPRET HONECKER'S WORDS AS ACKNOWLEDGING THE POSSIBILITY OF EVENTUAL GERMAN REUNIFICATION, AT LEAST ON COMMUNIST TERMS AS PART OF HISTORICAL DETERMINISM.

7. OUTSIDE COMMENTATORS HAVE SEEN IN HONECKER'S STATEMENT ON NATIONALITY A SMALL RETREAT FROM THE POSITION HE TOOK IN LATE SEPTEMBER WHEN THE EAST GERMAN CONSTITUTION WAS AMENDED TO STRIKE OUT THE WORDS "THE GERMAN NATION" AND TO REMOVE THE OBLIGATION CONTAINED IN THAT DOCUMENT FOR EAST GERMANS TO WORK TOWARD EVENTUAL GERMAN REUNIFICATION. THE CHANGING OF THE CONSTITUTION APPARENTLY EVOKED CRITICISM BOTH

WITHIN AND OUTSIDE SED PARTY RANKS AND HONECKER IS UNDERSTOOD TO HAVE FELT OBLIGED TO STATE UNEQUIVOCALLY IN HIS DECEMBER ADDRESS THAT E. GERMANS HAVE GERMAN NATIONALITY. HONECKER'S STATEMENT IS ALSO INTERPRETED AS A SIGN THAT THE EAST GERMAN GOVERNMENT IS FLIXIBLE ENOUGH TO CHANGE ITS MIND (EVEN IN SUCH AN INDIRECT WAY) IN MATTERS WHICH TOUCH UPON THE GERMAN PSYCHE.

8. THE HOPE EXPRESSED BY HONECKER FOR A COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE FRG STANDS IN SOME CONTRAST TO THE STATEMENT MADE ON NEW YEARS DAY BY THE HEAD OF THE WEST GERMAN REPRESENTATION OFFICE IN EAST BERLIN, GUENTHER GAUS, IN WHICH GAUS INDICATED THAT PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS BY THE TWO GERMAN STATES WOULD HAVE TO MOVE STEP BY STEP, AND MIGHT ACHIEVE SOME SUCCESS IN 10, 15 OR 20 YEARS. THE GAUS STATEMENT HAS BEEN MODIFIED SOMEWHAT BY A STATEMENT ON JANUARY 9 BY INTERIOR GERMAN AFFAIRS MINISTER EGON FRANKE WHICH FORECAST A MORE OPTIMISTIC FUTURE FOR FRG/ GDR TALKS.COOPER

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## Message Attributes

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